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22 MAY 1981

The Company Mr. Casey Keeps

A certain skepticism is in order when the intelligence brotherhood complains that amateurs are taking over the Central Intelligence Agency. The Bay of Pigs wasn't exactly an amateur production, save in its humiliating outcome. Nor were the abortive attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro in the 1960's. But in the matter of Max Hugel, a New Hampshire businessman now turned spymaster, the consternation among old C.I.A. hands is surely understandable.

Mr. Hugel's most visible qualification is his long-time friendship with the C.I.A.'s Director, William Casey. According to his official biography, Mr. Hugel served as a junior Army intelligence officer during World War II. He has had three months' experience as a middle-echelon administrator at the agency's Langley headquarters, a.k.a. The Company. With only this background, he has now been promoted to head the agency's directorate of operations, which controls covert actions and clandestine intelligence overseas.

Plainly, Mr. Casey wants a loyal associate in this peculiarly sensitive post, which has been described as the most difficult and dangerous in the Government after that of the President. And Mr. Hugel earned that confidence when he resigned as an electronics company executive to help win the crucial New Hampshire primary victory just as Mr. Casey assumed command of the Reagan campaign. Mr. Hugel's political skills impressed old hands in that state, though they otherwise know little about him.

Still, winning votes in New Hampshire is one thing. Knowing the national security byways of Washington is quite another. And presiding over spy networks requires even more sophisticated knowledge and experience. Mr. Hugel's appointment is not subject to Senate confirmation, unlike the positions of C.I.A. Director and Deputy Director. So as a matter of law, Mr. Casey has every right to appoint a chum as spymaster. As a matter of policy, the appointment is questionable.

The C.I.A. is unlike any other agency in the degree of trust it demands from Congress and the public. That trust was grievously abused in a period not long ended. Who can be surprised if there are fears of a replay in an Administration that talks loosely about "unleashing" the C.I.A.? These fears are fanned when an outsider with tenuous credentials is given command of The Company's most free-wheeling division.

For security reasons, the Senate Intelligence Subcommittee has been reluctant to delve too deeply into the agency's secret operations. But the command structure is a different matter. Mr. Casey — even the President — have an obligation to explain what prompted the Hugel appointment, and to spell out the constraints on covert operations. That much light won't compromise the agency and would allay justifiable fears. In a double sense, The Company that Mr. Casey keeps is the public's business.

THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER (CA)
21 May 1981

Two bad appointments

of President Reagan, but also a good many observers who wish him well, are disappointed at one appointment in his administration, and aghast at another one

Both positions are in the field of foreign policy, and of delicate nature, though widely separated:

- The choice of Ernest Lefever to be assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs was a sloppy appointment, for Lefever has been a polemicist against some of the law he would be expected to enforce:
- The selection of Max Hugel to be deputy director for operations of the CIA was so stunningly ill-conceived that we have difficulty believing he will be retained in that post, once the president has taken time to contemplate the possible consequences of his retention.

The Hugel appointment unfortunately, does not require Senate confirmation. If it did, he would be in desperate trouble and the administration would suffer acute embarrassment at the public revelation of his appalling lack of qualifications for the job. Also, the security interests of the United States might suffer, and the morale of the CIA might be depreciated further, by the ordeal of such embarrassment.

Those interests and that morale may, however, be damaged more, in time, by his assumption of that critical position—if not by his ineptitude, by the politicization of the job that his appointment signifies. The appointment was, from all appearances, not the direct work of the president, but of William Casey, director of the CIA. It reflects badly on Casey and will cause his judgment to be suspect in Congress and among knowledgeable observers until this bungle is cleared up (and for a while thereafter).

sewing machine man. He is a New Hampshire businessman who got started big n sewing machines and typewriters and wound up heading a firm that combined all of that with computers, and succeeded marve ously, in politics as well as business.

Last year he was an energetic and highly effective Reagan campaign organizer. William Casey was chairman of the Reagan campaign. Now the two are coming together in government work, as the result of Casey's beneficence, in a way that must have the Soviet KGB either whooping with laughter or gapemouthed in disbelief.

For, yes, Hugel is set to be the nation's

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PRILITIES ON PAGE

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL 18 May 1981

Laws

By Margaret Garrard Warner Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON-Stanley Sporkin left his job Friday as enforcement chief at the Seg curities and Exchange Commission. Today. he starts work as general counsel to the Central Intelligence Agency

In his 20-year stint at the SEC, Mr. Sporkin earned a reputation as a tough securities-law cop. He became known as a manthe business community loved to hate. He pursued corporate slush funds and insider trading at home and oif-books payments. abroad. In 1977, Congress passed the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, cutlawing activities Mr. Sporkin had insisted be disclosed.

Last month, the 49-year-old Mr. Sporking caught even his closest associates off guard by accepting a job offer from CIA director William Casey, a former SEC chairman and old friend. In an interview last week, Mr. Sporkin paced back and forth in the clutter of his SEC command post, reflecting on his disappointments and successes at the agency. Most of all, he talked about his feeling that he and his enforcement team have been misunderstood.

On the Sporkin Image

Q: You'd have to agree that you developed a certain image-the Columbo of Wall Street. Do you feel that ever stood in the way of what you were trying to accomplish?

A: Oh, I didn't take that wery seriously I think it was created by people trying to make a kind of glamour job out of this position, so it would be easier for teaders to understand.

I was a little miffed at times, you know, because I am a lawyer, and the last thing I want to be known as-not that it's-wrong to be-is an investigator. But sometimes they paint me as a stumbleburn, somebody who trails around after clues-and stumbles into things.

Q: How do you account for all the criticism from corporate America about your hard-nosed approach, about the hostility between your enforcement division and the investment community?

A: I'don't understand what caused it because people who have dealt with me know what I stand for: namely, running a professional division ... that's fair ... that's constructive ... that's very creative.

There were times when, for example, people offered us a settlement that I knew would have a devastating impact on their business, and they didn't understand what they were doing. I a hear they lease 2006/02/07: CIA-RDP91-00901R000400190011-5 withdrew the settlement. Those are the things the public doesn't see, but they're

wa stood for and incisted whom I

Q: There has been criticism on that score, too-that after years of investigation and thousands of dollars, the violators get a slap on the wrist, a consent decree.

A: That's one thing I will defend for many years to come. It is the right thing we've done. It is the only way to accomplish the mission we have.

You have to realize that litigation is like war. It is hell. It is hell on people. It is hell. on resources. You've got to try to resolve as many disputes as you can without having a war-or litigation.

On His Accomplishments

Q: How is the investment community, including the public, different today than it would be if you hadn't come to work at the SEC 20 years ago? * #

A: I feel we've given a lot of confidence to the marketplace: I believe we've made it clear to wrengdoers to stay out of this mar-

eketplace, and that's the reason you see them in other marketplaces.

Q: Where? A: I'm not going to tell you. But I think we've had a prophylactic effect, especially with this whole system of compliance selfregulation, in the industries we regulate. We've helped preserve the integrity of our markets. That has made the U.S. markets safer, probably, than any other markets in the world. That's why you see so much foreign money coming in. People have reaped the benefits of what we've done-and then they complain about being over-regu-

Q: What has given you the most satisfac-

A: Obviously, the questionable payments cases were important. But the most satisfying thing we did was little heralded: the impact we had in bringing the investment community out of real problems-its back-office problems and then its financial problems. As a result, you'll find the investment community today is enjoying an era of prosperkity almost unparalleled in its history. This industry was able to get its problems behind it earlier than others. It took its big bath, and now it's in fighting shape.

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THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 17 May 1981

CIA stunned by choice of new deputy

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Reports that a New Hampshire businessman with little experience in intelligence will be appointed to the CIA's top spy job have prompted cries of alarm and surprise from members of the intelligence community, published reports say.

"The CIA was stunned," Cord Meyer, a former CIA official, wrote in the Washington Star Friday of the appointment of Max Hugel as the CIA's deputy director for operations.

Hugel, 54, an active worker in the Reagan campaign last year, had been deputy director of the CIA for administration until he was shifted to the new post two weeks ago. No announcement of the change was made.

Meyer wrote: "The KGB chiefs in Moscow-will find it incredible that the Americans should entrust the DDO responsibility to someone with virtually no previous experience, and they are undoubtedly searching their files for evidence of Mr. Hugel's role as a longtime undercover agent. They will find nothing of the sort."

George A. Carver, a 26-year veteran of the CIA, told the Washington Post, "This is like putting a guy who has never been to sea in as chief of naval operations."

Carver served on the CIA transition team in the change of administrations.

CIA Director William J Casey defended his appointment, the Post said.

He told the newspaper that the critics were "a bunch of guys who think you can only understand this business if you've been here 25 years."

Casey said that Hugel's "ability toapply private vigor to an organization... has made a very strong impression around here" and that Hugel's staff would be able to compensate for his inexperience.

Calls to Hugel's home in Arlington, Va., Friday night were not answered.

Hugel served in military intelligence units in Japan and the Philippines during and after World War II. After leaving the military, he established a import-export company in Japan that became a major manufacturer and distributor of sewing machines and typewriters.

He merged that company with Centronics Data Computer Corp. of Hudson, N.H., from which he resigned as executive vice president in March 1980 to join Reagan's campaign.

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THE WASHINGTON POST 16 May 1981

Some Fault Appointee's Lack of Experie aggers Drawn for New

By David S. Broder and Patrick E. Tyler Washington Post Staff Writers

The appointment of Max Hugel, a New Hampshire businessman and Reagan campaign organizer, as deputy director for operations of the CIA has set off waves of criticism from members of the intelligence community. They contend that his lack of experience disqualifies him for what is in effect the top "spymaster" post in government.

The choice also stirred expressions of disbelief from some former campaign associates, who said it was only Hugel's friendship with William J. Casev, the former Reagan campaign chairman now serving as CIA director, that saved the Brooklyn-born Hugel from being ousted from his job as organizer of ethnic, nationality and citizens' groups for Reagan last year.

"Does the White House know about this?" Stuart K. Spencer, President Reagan's 1980 campaign strategist, asked incredulously when informed that Casey had named his campaign protege to the CIA operations post. Spencer is now a private campaign consultant in California.

White House deputy press secretary Larry Speakes said he had "no comment," noting that the appointment was Casey's and not Reagan's. But a senior White House staff member acknowledged he had had calls from two previous CIA directors protesting the choice.

Casey strongly defended the appointment in a telephone interview, saying, "I looked over the field very carefully and I believe I made a good choice."

He said Hugel's lack of experience was compensated for by his deputies, and that "his ability to apply private vigor to an organization ... has made a very strong impression around here."

Hugel, 54, learned Japanese in the Army during World War II, and served in military intelligence units in the Philippines and Japan for two years, handling counterintelligence duties and interrogation of Japanese prisoners-of-war returning from the Soviet Union, according to the CIA.

After leaving the military in 1947, he set up a Japan-based exportimport firm that became one of the world's main builders and distributors of sewing machines and typewriters.

Later, he merged it into Centronics Data Computer Corp. of Hudson, N.H., and was executive vice president of that firm until he resigned in March, 1980, to work full time with Casey in the Reagan campaign. Hugel ran the Reagan effort in his home city of Nashua during the 1980 primary.

· He was originally named by Casey as the deputy director for administration. But two weeks ago he shifted into the vacant operations slot, without public announcement. It was that -shift into what intelligence professionals consider the most sensitive position in the agency that has stirred up , a storm.

George A. Carver, a 26-year veteran of CIA who served on Reagan's CIA transition team, said, "This is like putting a guy who has never been to sea in as chief of naval operations It's like putting a guy who is not an M.D. in charge of the cardiovascular unit of a major hospital."

Samuel Hoskinson, a CIA and Na-

The near of the Candestine service really has to be a guy with lots of moxie and good, solid instincts who knows when to use these instruments and when not to. That may involve countermanding your staff, who may be more eager to go out there and do something you aren't. The last thing you want is a man who is captive of his staff, who doesn't have the experience "

Cord Meyer, a former top CIA officer, wrote in a column in yesterday's Washington Star that "the KGB chiefs in Moscow will find it incredible that the Americans should entrust the DDO [deputy director for operations] responsibility to someone with virtually no previous experience."

John Greaney, executive director of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, said there was "general concern about his lack of experience for a very sensitive job It is the heart of the organization's collection function, and to my knowledge there has never been this kind of appointment in the past."

But Greaney added, "I don't know the man, and Mr. Casey is entitled to his choice of associates, so it might be better to hold off and see what kind

of a job he does."

Casey said the criticism was coming from "a bunch of guys who think you can only understand this business if you've been here 25 years." Noting the abundance of "very experienced people" in the geographic divisions of CIA, Casey said he did not believe experience was the main criterion for senior executives.

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NEW YORK TIMES 16 MAY 1981

Ex-Businessman Gets C.I.A. Post

Special to The New York Tintes

WASHINGTON, May 15—The Central Intelligence Agency today confirmed that a New Hampshire businessman who had worked on President Reagan's election campaign staff had been chosen to head the agency's directorate of operations, which conducts sensitive covert actions and—clandestine intelligence-gathering abroad.

An intelligence agency spokesman acknowledged that Max Hugel, 53 years old, was appointed May II to be deputy director for operations. The agency does not normally announce such appointments at that level, the spokesman said.

The decision by the agency to confirm Mr. Hugel's appointment apparently followed the publication today of an article by Cord Meyer, a retired high-ranking C.I.A. official who now writes a newspaper column. Mr. Meyer wrote that the agency "was stunned this week by the selection of a rank amateur to head its most sensitive directorate."

Mr. Hugel was an executive vice presi- intelligence work.

dent of the Sentronics Corporation of Hudson, N.H., an electronics company, until he resigned in March 1980 to join Mr. Reagan's campaign staff. A biography released by the intelligence agency says he was in charge of organizing "ethnic, nationalities, occupational, religious and other voting groups."

Worked With C.I.A. Director

Mr. Hugal worked closely with William J. Casey, who was Mr. Reagan's national campaign manager and who was appointed as Director of Central Intelligence this year.

Mr. Casey selected Mr. Hugel as a "special assistant" in January. He became deputy director for administration in February.

Mr. Hugel, who was born in Brooklyn, served as a junior Army Intelligence officer from 1943 to 1947, the C.I.A. said. However, Mr. Hugel's official biography does not indicate any broad experience in intelligence work.



Number 2 15 May 1981

NEWLY APPOINTED DEPUTY DIRECTORS

I have recently announced the appointment of four people to fill four of our Agency's most senior positions.

John McMahon is well known to you as former Associate Deputy to the DCI for the Intelligence Community and for the last three years as Deputy Director for Operations, where he served with distinction. John has recently assumed the position of Director, National Foreign Assessment Center. He filled the post made vacant by the retirement of Bruce Clarke, who did a splendid job in that position for approximately two years.

Harry Fitzwater is also known to you for his leadership in recent years; first as the Director of Training and then as Director of Personnel, Policy, Planning and Management. I have named Harry Deputy Director for Administration.

James Glerum will assume the post of Director of Personnel, moving up from a similar post in the Operations Directorate where he clearly distinguished himself.

Rounding out this management team is Max Hugel, whom I have appointed to succeed John McMahon as Deputy Director for Operations. Since he is the newest member of CIA's top management, you should know more about Max Hugel.

Mr. Hugel entered the United States Army in 1943 after attending Brooklyn College for a year. After infantry training and studying Japanese, he served in military intelligence in the Philippines and then during the occupation of Japan. While in Japan he was engaged in the interrogation of Japanese prisoners of war returning from internment by the Soviets. He also served in counterintelligence.

After leaving the Army, he started a trading company in Japan and developed a number of other interests including the first export of Japanese blood plasma to the United States from a company which he helped form and which is now a major pharmaceutical company in Japan.

In 1954 Mr. Hugel formed a joint company with Brother Industries Limited, a manufacturer of sewing machines in Japan. As its chief executive officer, he marketed and distributed its products, establishing local assembly plants where needed throughout Europe, Asia, North America and South America. Moving into new fields, the company became one of the largest manufacturers and distributors of typewriters in the world.

In 1969, at Mr. Hugel's initiative, an agreement was made between Brother and Centronics Data Computer Corporation to manufacture the first high-speed computer printer mechanism in Japan. As a result of this agreement, Centronics became the world's largest independent manufacturer and distributor of high-speed printers for computers. In 1975, Mr. Hugel sold his interests in Brother International Corporation in exchange for Centronics stock held by Brother and joined Centronics Data Computer Corporation. There he used his previous experience to develop Centronics Data into an international operation establishing sales and assembly plants throughout the world.

In March 1980 he left Centronics to join the Reagan campaign for which he took charge of organizing and directing ethnic, nationality, occupational, religious and other voting groups. During his business years, Mr. Hugel was active in a number of public activities such as the Young Presidents Organization, an international organization consisting of chief executive officers of approximately 3,000 international corporations who had assumed office before the

age of 49. In 1973 he was asked by President Nixon to represent the United States at the economic conference of Far Eastern countries held in Manila. More recently he has been invited by the Chinese to undertake a review of their computer industries.

In January 1981, Mr. Hugel joined the Central Intelligence Agency as Special Assistant to the Director, and on 13 February 1981 he was appointed Deputy Director for Administration. I appointed him Deputy Director for Operations on 11 May 1981.

William Casey
William Casey

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THE WASHINGTON STAR (GREEN LINE) 15 May 1981

CORD MEYER

Casey Picks Amateur for Most Sensitive CIA Job

In some of its choices for senior positions in its foreign-policy establishment, the ways of the Reagan administration are wondrous to behold. Just as State Department officers were beginning to recover from the appointment of a Reagan confident without any foreign experience as deputy secretary of state, the CIA was stunned this week by the selection of a rank amateur to head its most sensitive directorate.

Reaching outside the professional cadre of trained and experienced in-telligence officers, CIA Director Wil-liam Casey has rejected the unanimous advice of old intelligence hands by appointing a New Hampshire businessman and Reagan political operative, Max Hugel, as deputy director for operations (DDO).

This government job was once described by columnist Stewart Alsop with only slight exaggeration as the most difficult and dangerous after the president's." The man in this position has the responsibility for directing all the agency's secret over-seas operations from recruiting spies inside Russia, to secretly penetrating the international terrorist networks, to conducting covert political activities. Allen Dulles, Richard Helms and William Colby all held this job before subsequently becoming CIA directors but they earned their promotion by many years in intelligence assignments.

The DDO's most formidable opponent and main competitor on the world stage is the head of the KGB's First Chief Directorate, who controls in Russian embassies a corps of KGB professional officers four times the size of the CIA's overseas presIncredible to KGB

The KGB chiefs in Moscow will find it incredible that the Americans should entrust the DDO responsibility to someone with virtually no previous experience, and they are undoubtedly searching their files for evidence of Mr. Hugel's role as a longtime undercover agent. They will find nothing of the sort.

It is no reflection on Hugel's business acumen in amassing a small fortune from the construction of a sewing machine company to point out that his only prior experience with intelligence was a brief stint at the end of World War II with military intelligence. As one Pentagon general commented, "The DDO office is no place for on-the-job training.

There is perhaps no position in the U.S. government where the accu-

mulated memory of past successes and failures and deep familiarity with the individual strengths and weaknesses of hundreds of staff officers are so essential. The DDO has to be both leader and manager, and his ability to inspire confidence among his troops depends on his re-cord of achievement in intelligence.

A Dicey Business

If President Reagan follows through on his intention to build up the covert political action and paramilitary resources of the CIA, this appointment is all the more surpris-ing. As other presidents have learned, covert intervention in foreign countries can be a dicey business. The decision to intervene depends in the first instance on the DDO's judgment on whether the gains outweigh the risks.

In the only other case where a CIA director reached so far outside the ranks of the operations directorate. Allen Dulles selected a bright economist, Richard Bissell, to be DDO. Intellectually brilliant but lacking in operational experience, Bissell became the unfortunate architect of the Bay of Pigs.

In the staffs of the Senate and House intelligence committees and among friendly European intelligence services, there is concern that: this appointment may further politi-cize the CIA. Hugel first came to Casey's attention during the presidential campaign as the result of his success in organizing ethnic groups behind Reagan's candidacy. Casey is convincing in his denial that the appointment is a political payoff, but the Democrats would find it hard to resist the temptation to replace Hugel with a political choice of their own the next time around. Step by step, the apolitical objectivity on which the agency used to pride itself is being undermined.

When confronted with these fears, Casey explains that after reviewing the qualifications of all senior operational officers he concluded that only Hugel had the required drive and ability. Casey may have been influenced by his experience in World War II when Wild Bill Donovan collected a group of talented amateurs to run U.S. intelligence.

But that was 40 years ago and the Soviets now present a more formidable challenge. Casey may yet prove to be right in choosing an able amateur for the agency's toughest job. But it's a breathtaking gamble for which the country will have to pay heavily if Casey has guessed wrong.

ARTICLE APPEARED ON PAGE 11-6

LOS ANGELES TIMES 13 MAY 1981

prise. It soloo Sweeping

William J. Casey, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, wants Congress to pass a law that would allow the Federal Bureau of Investigation to conduct surprise searches of news organizations in cases involving the disclosure of covert agents of who exposed intelligence abuses might well come

Legislation that was enacted last year requires law-enforcement agencies to obtain subpoenas for doubts about the constitutionality of prosecuting documents used in publishing or broadcasting private citizens for gathering and publishing infor-This procedure eliminates the element of surprise, mation. This provision, the department suggested, specifies the information sought and permits news the could "chill speech" of critics of CIA operations. organizations to contest a subpoena in court

But the legislation allows surprise searches in espionage cases and Casey urges that the exemption be extended to cover cases that would arise under a bill to make it a crime to reveal the names of intelligence agents. It would apply even if the information was obtained from publicly available

sources request was not supported by any evidence of need, and it illustrates the dangers in the proposed legislation on the identities of agents: The legislation is too broad.

The bill-would make it a crime for a government official or a former government official with access to classified information to disclose the identity of a CIA agent. There is no opposition to that provision, but the legislation, which is being considered in both houses of Congress in different forms, would go further. It would apply to journalists or

other private persons who disclose the names of agents with "intent" to impair or in pede U.S. intelligence activities, even though the information was derived from the public domain. A journalist

Last year the Justice Department itself raised

The pending legislation would cover the disclosure not only of salaried professional officers of intelligence agencies but also of "sources of operational assistance." That definition is broad enough to include almost anyone whom the CIA might care to name.

The proposed law was provoked by a Washington newsletter that has disclosed the names of officials identified as CIA agents. The publication's staff asserted that all its information was deduced from unclassified information, but the exposure of the names of agents simply for the sake of exposure is a contemptible act.

Yet the proposed legislation is too sweeping. It should not subject, as it would, legitimate news reporting to the threat of possible prosecution. It should not expose every news organization in the country, as it will if Casey's suggest on is followed, to the threat of a surprise search.

In Our Opinion

Protecting Our Security

Why would anyone want to expose the identities of American intelligence agents; except possibly to aid our enemies abroad?

That is the point CIA Director William J. Casey tried to make in urging criminal penalties for the public identification of U.S. spies. He told a Senate Judiciary subcommittee last week that "untold damage" has been caused by the naming of American covert agents.

"Unauthorized disclosures are undermining the intelligence community's human source collection capabilities and endangering the lives of our initelligence officers in the field," Casey said.

The Judiciary subcommittee is considering a bill to impose jail terms of up to 10 years for someone with access to classified information who discloses the name of an agent.

Similar legislation failed to reach a Senate floor vote last year as opponents contended it was unconstitutional and could stifle legitimate news reporting of intelligence activities. We see nothing legitimate about aiding and abetting the enemies of the United States.

The Justice Department has testified that the current proposal, sponsored by Sen. John H. Chafee, R-R.I., is constitutional:

intelligence policy to Attorney General William French Smith endorsed a controversial provision of Chafee's bill authorizing up to three years in jail for disclosure of a spy's name by someone without access to classified information.

The provision "would pass constitutional muster under a First Amendment or due process challenge," Willard said. The provision would require prosecutors to show that disclosure was made "with reason to believe" that naming spies would harm U.S. intelligence activities.

The bill is aimed in part at a publication called Covert Action Information Bulletin, which repeatedly has published the names of alleged American agents.

The American Civil Liberties Union and Americans for Democratic Action testified against the Chafee proposal.

ADA Director Leon Shull said, "It should not be necessary to muzzle the press and forbid the publication of unclassified information to meet foreign policy objectives."

That is correct — it certainly should not be necessary, but when liberal publications threaten exposure that could not only threaten American security but endanger the lives of the agents involved, then it is high time to put clamps on such Richard K. Willard, counsel on irresponsible publications.